



Odoric of Pordenone and His Account on the *orientalium partium* in the Light of Manuscripts

Vladimír Liščák

Department of East Asia, Oriental Institute, Academy of Sciences, Pod Vodárenskou věží 4, 182 08 Praha 8

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ODORIK Z PORDENONE A JEHO ZPRÁVA O „VÝCHODNÍCH KRAJÍCH SVĚTA“ VE SVĚTLE RUKOPISŮ

ABSTRAKT Odorik z Pordenone (asi 1275/1285–1331), františkánský misionář, patří k nejdůležitějším osobám cestujícím v 13./14. století do Číny. Četné kopie Odorikova cestopisu (jak původního textu, tak verzí ve francouzštině, italštině, němčině apod.), které se dochovaly do naší doby, hlavně ze 14. století, ukazují, jak si cestopis rychle získal popularitu v širokém měřítku. Mezi latinskými rukopisy můžeme rozeznat šest základních typů redakcí Odorikova cestopisu: *recensio Guillelmi*; *recensio Marchesini*, *recensio Henrici* (+ *copia Calvi*); *recensio Guecelli*; *recensio Germanica*; *recensiones breviores*. Důležité pro nás je, že některé z nich byly pořízeny v Praze. Tato krátká informace o Odorikově zprávě o „východních krajích světa“ končí údaji o nejranějších tištěných edicích a středověkých překladatelích Odorikova cestopisu.

KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA Čína; 14. století; misionáři v Číně; františkánští misionáři; středověké cestopisy

ABSTRACT Odoric of Pordenone (c. 1275/85–1331), a Franciscan missionary, ranks among the most important persons travelling in the 13th/14th centuries to China. The numerous copies of Odoric's narrative (both of the original text and of the versions in French, Italian, German &c.) that have come down to our time, chiefly from the 14th century, show how speedily and widely it acquired popularity. Among the Latin manuscripts we are able to recognize six basic types of redactions of the Odoric's travel-record: *recensio Guillelmi*; *recensio Marchesini*, *recensio Henrici* (+ *copia Calvi*); *recensio Guecelli*; *recensio Germanica*; *recensiones breviores*. Important for us is that some of them were copied in Prague. This short information about the Odoric's account on the “eastern parts of the world” ends with some data about earliest printed editions and medieval translators of the Odoric's travelogue.

KEY WORDS China; 14th century; missionaries to China; Franciscan missionaries; medieval travelogues

EDITORIAL NOTE The article is written in the British standard, but sometimes quotations from the American sources are placed. Their text is left in the American orthography, when in quotation marks (eg. *traveler* instead of *traveller*, *favor* instead of *favour* etc.). The English titles in Bibliography are also left in their original orthography, though different from the modern British standard.

INTRODUCTION

Odoric of Pordenone (c. 1275/85–1331)¹ was a Franciscan friar and one of the chief travellers to Asia during the later Middle Ages, who travelled in 1314 or 1318–1330 to the “eastern parts of the world” (*orientalium partium*)², and on the re-

turn journey he may have visited Tibet (or some of its outlying areas).³ After his return in 1330, he dictated an account

Latin titles of his account. An example of another is *Itinerarium de mirabilibus orientalium Tartarorum*. Also known as *Relatio*.

3 In the course of the centuries, a large number of books and essays have been published on Odoric of Pordenone. In 2006 I have compiled a catalogue of known manuscripts and books and other printed material – see Liščák (2006).

1 See Liščák (2009).

2 *Descriptio orientalium partium* is one of the most common

of his travels to Guglielmo da Solagna, and this soon became a best-seller. Since it included many descriptions and facts not mentioned in Marco Polo's "Il Milione"⁴, the text became an important source both for the fictitious account of "John Mandeville"⁵ and the famous *Catalan Atlas* of 1375⁶.

In manuscripts of his account, Odoric is mentioned under many different names (frequently corrupted by scribes), most commonly being styled according to the place of his birth as "of Pordenone" (*b. Odoricus de Portu Naonis, Ordericus de Portu Naonis* etc.), "of Friuli" (*Odoricus Boemus de Foro Julii, Odericus de Foro-Julii, Odoricus de Foro Julio, Oderigo di Frigoli, Oderigo da Frigholi, Ulrich von Fryaul, Ulreich von Friaul*), or eventually both (*Odorico de Porto Maggiore de Friuli*)⁷. There are many mysteries about Odoric and his travels, including some doubt as to whether he was actually in China.⁸ In addition, very little is known about his missionary activities in China and about his return journey to Europe. Also, one of the everlasting questions is: Was he really in Tibet, as mentioned in his account?

Odoric of Pordenone is also an important figure for the Catholic Church, being ranked among the saints, even if the process of his sanctification is still under consideration. This is because of the alleged Odoric miracles which have been registered since his death.⁹ Today, Odoric is largely devoted as the Apostle of the Chinese (*l'Apostolo dei cinesi*). Every 14 January the official festivities are celebrated on the anniversary of his death. Moreover, the festivities of 2008 were in token of the approaching Olympic Games in Beijing, thus using the opportunity to recall the missionary work of Odoric of Pordenone and to improve contacts between the Catholic Church and Chinese government.¹⁰

THE ODORIC'S TRAVEL RECORD

The Odoric's travelogue is a brief, but fascinating account, written in vernacular Latin (*lingua Latina vulgaris, sermo vulgaris*) in a simple and clear style. It is not burdened with theological and apologetical excursions, as it was the case with some other travel accounts on eastern regions. This is also the reason for the success of the Odoric's wonderful travelogue in Late Medieval Europe.

Success of the report, in addition to the interesting content and easy reading, was also guaranteed by the author's reputation as a saint (*fama sanctitatis*). Besides, the fact that Odoric was a Franciscan friar, ensured his report a certain authoritative-ness. The Odoric's travelogue became, in his time, as popular as Marco Polo's, at the very least. However, we do not know of any medieval Czech translation — Vavřinec z Březové (c. 1370–c. 1437) yielded precedence to the "travelogue" of so-called John Mandeville.¹¹

Some passages from this "travelogue" are strikingly consistent with the Odoric's description. It is also interesting that some manuscripts of the Odoric's travelogue from the 15th century join both of these two persons together, in their titles.¹²

The transmission of the Odoric's text was very complex, and the reconstruction of its original form is very difficult. In fact, this is a typical case of an "active" text, it means that it has undergone numerous and often profound modifications in the later stages of its diffusion. These modifications, while respecting the construction of the work and its contents as a whole, led to a radical distortion of its form, partly to improve his language and style.¹³

Modern studies of Odoric were started with Henry Yule (1820–1889), a Scottish Orientalist and editor of a number of travelogues regarding the Orient, who dedicated to Odoric the Volume 2 of his monumental work *Cathay and the Way Thither*. In addition to biographical and historical notes he brought here an extensive bibliography of known manuscripts and printed works, and published an English translation and Latin original of the manuscript Lat. 2584, now in Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris.¹⁴

Another detailed study is an introductory essay by a Belgian Franciscan, Anastasius van den Wyngaert (1884–?) to his critical edition of the Latin text of the Odoric's account¹⁵, and a chapter on Odoric in the *Barbarians and Mandarins*. *Thir-*

4 See e.g. two excellent editions: Polo (2003 and 2006).

5 "Jehan de Mandeville"; also "Sir John Mandeville" etc., is the name claimed by the compiler of a singular book of supposed travels, originally written in Anglo-Norman French and published between 1357 and 1371. Many of the incredible reports in Mandeville have proven to be garbled versions of the Odoric's eyewitness descriptions. – Cf. Warner (1889); Higgins (1997); Seymour (ed.) (2002).

6 Incipit: *Mapa mundi vol dir aytant con ymage del món e de les diverses etats del món e de les regions que són sus la terra de diverses maneres de gen qui en ela habiten*. (BNF Richelieu Manuscrits Espagnol 30) Facsimile cf. Grosjean (1977).

7 Many authors, mostly Italian, introduce Odoric Mattiussi or Mattiuzzi as his "real name". But this is a later addition.

8 For more information about these accusations and criticisms directed towards Odoric see Testa (2008).

9 Cf. Tilatti (2004).

10 "Un mese per ricordare il Beato Odorico," *Il Gazzettino* (Veneto), 14 gennaio 2008; "Il Friuli celebra Odorico da Pordenone, il frate che aprì la strada alla conoscenza dell'Oriente," *Il Gazzettino* (Veneto), 15 gennaio 2008.

11 Mandeville (1911). The translation by Vavřinec z Březové was provided between 1398 and 1419. It was based on the German version of Otto von Diemerigen from the mid-1390 (?), and belongs to the oldest translations of Mandeville's "travelogue".

12 Cf. *Itinerarius fidelis Fratris Oderici, socii militis Mendavil, per Indiam* [A faithful itinerary of the travel of friar Odoric, a fellow of the knight Mandeville, to India] (Mainz, Kapitel der Kathedrale, Ms. 52), or *Itinerarius fidelis Fratris Oderici socii militis Mandavil per Indiam* (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weissemburg.40).

13 Chiesa (2004): 28.

14 See Yule (1866), vol.1; Yule – Cordier (1913), vol. 2.

15 *Prolegomena* (1929).

teen Centuries of Western Travellers in China by Nigel Cameron (* 1911)¹⁶.

Commentators generally appreciate the Odoric's travelogue from two aspects: its content, which is valuable for his historical and geographical knowledge, and its readability. Yule saw the importance of work especially in its content¹⁷, as well as many others after him. For example, William E. Soothill (1861–1935) evaluated the travelogue as a valuable text, offering a lot of material on the relations between East and West in the 14th century.¹⁸ For Donald F. Lach (1917–2000) the importance of the Odoric's work consists in the spread of knowledge on Asia in Europe.¹⁹ Also, the British historian Charles Raymond Beazley (1868–1955) appreciated highly the content of the Odoric's work: "There is no one who has left a travel-record of equal range, interest, or value."²⁰ the Odoric's account, is, according to him, "the fullest, the most graphic, and the most amusing picture of Asia left by any religious traveller if this age."²¹ Nigel Cameron acknowledges that Odoric gave us information that we had never provided with, and notes that his travel account "outshines anything Marco Polo achieved".²²

Other commentators emphasize the effect of the Odoric's work on the reader. For example, William W. Appleton (b. 1915) suggests that among the reports of Franciscan missionaries on Asia the Odoric's one is perhaps the most interesting.²³ German sinologist Wolfgang Franke (1912–2007) also finds the Odoric's travelogue as interesting, even though according to him it cannot be equated to Marco Polo's description.²⁴

Commentators, however, are not united as to the historical person Odoric of Pordenone is concerned. The authors of the early 20th century evaluated him from three aspects: as a saint, as a liar, or as a man with weaknesses. Early English commentators (for example, Samuel Purchas in the 17th century, Thomas Astley in the 18th century) considered him rather a liar. Henry Yule in the mid-19th century was first to stop consider Odoric a liar, but also challenged the Franciscan hagiographic tradition of Odoric-saint. He stressed that he should be seen primarily as a traveller in Asia.

Authors of the 20th century has often expressed their interpretations in terms of the three evaluation already mentioned. Beazley saw Odoric as a traveller, Mary Campbell (b. 1954) considered him one of many Franciscans wandering through Asia, "a propagandist of western standards", who was horri-

fied by the barbarism and paganism, which he saw.²⁵ While some found the Odoric's views Eurocentric²⁶, others considered him a Sinophile²⁷, on the contrary. Cameron calls Odoric a "tourist" and places him, in the Yule tradition, as an imperfect human being, with all faults, who was not "profoundly wedded to his priestly calling, nor to anything else, it would appear, except traveling round and savoring the odd incidents that turned up in his life."²⁸ He also argues that Odoric was "sensitive to female allure", as can be seen from his description of "golden lilies" or Mongol headdresses.²⁹ Also finds it odd that Odoric and not John of Montecorvino, the Archbishop of Cambaluc, was beatified.³⁰

Italian authors pay traditionally great attention to Odoric. In 1982, in Pordenone were organized two international conferences "Odorico da Pordenone e la Cina" (a historical and a socio-economic).³¹ Sinologist Giorgio Melis (b. 1925) was the first to distinguish between two stylistic methods of the Odoric's travelogue: "fanciful and naive" in the passage from Europe to Guangzhou, while in China Odoric was "sober and rational", almost as if focused on the "diplomatic or propaganda objectives".³² Longstanding debate about the veracity of the Odoric's text was summarized by Giulio Cesare Testa, in his contribution³³ on the international colloquium in Pilsen in 2006.³⁴

MANUSCRIPTS AND THEIR LATIN REDACTIONS

Over one hundred and thirty manuscripts of the Odoric's account have been identified till now.³⁵ Greater part of them

16 Cameron (1989).

17 Yule – Cordier (1913), II: 26.

18 Soothill (1925): 56.

19 Lach (1965): 40.

20 Beazley (1949): 251.

21 *Ibid.*: 255.

22 Cameron (1989): 114–115.

23 Appleton (1951): 5.

24 Franke (1967): 17.

25 Campbell (1988): 102, 106.

26 *Ibid.*: 102.

27 Mackerras (1989): 21.

28 Cameron (1989): 107.

29 *Ibid.*: 115.

30 *Ibid.*: 119. John of Montecorvino, although classified as a blessed in Franciscan martyrology (*Beato Giovanni da Montecorvino*; on January 1 is celebrated his feast day as the "first apostle of China"), the official process of beatification has not yet taken place. Chinese Catholics even call him a saint.

31 Melis (ed.) (1983a, b).

32 Melis (1983): 206.

33 Testa (2008).

34 See Sommer – Liščák (eds.) (2008).

35 The first detailed survey of manuscripts of the Odoric's travelogue was compiled by Henry Yule and significantly amended by Henri Cordier. — Yule (1866), I: 29–41; Yule – Cordier (1913), II: 39–75. So far, the most complete list of manuscripts and editions of this work was published more than twenty years ago. — Testa (1983): 121–150. It also includes an overview of unpreserved (or hypothetical) manuscripts, compiled on the basis of references in available sources. Summary table of unpublished manuscripts and editions is also in Monaco – Testa (eds.) (1986): 18–19.

is preserved in the Latin language (89)³⁶, which is the original language of the travelogue. The translation into Italian (24), French (9), and German (7) have soon appeared.³⁷ Also a Spanish version from the 15th century has survived.³⁸ We do not know what was the original title of the work, because the original is not preserved. Latin texts often refer to it in their titles as *Itinerarium* (Itinerary)³⁹, *Diversæ Historiæ* (Different stories), *De ritibus hominum et condicionibus huius mundi* (On the rites of the peoples and the conditions of this world)⁴⁰, *De mirabilibus orientalium Tartarorum* (On the marvels of the Tartars of the Eastern parts)⁴¹, *De (rebus) mira-*

bilibus (On the marvellous things)⁴², etc. Similarly, such titles are in the translations into other languages.⁴³

the Odoric's travelogue in the Latin original (other languages from the 14th and 15th century not to mention⁴⁴) had several editors. The itinerary to the Orient under the redaction of friar Guglielmo da Solagna, whom Odoric related the story of his travels in St Anthony's Convent (*convento di Sant'Antonio*) at Padua in May 1330, was completed at the beginning of 1331. It was taken a copy of the manuscript, and a delegation led by a Franciscan friar Marchesino da Bassano⁴⁵, who was also responsible for submitting to Pope John XXII (papacy 1316–1334) a request for the Odoric's beatification, has left for Avignon, then residence of popes. On this occasion, the Silesian Franciscan friar, Henry of Glatz⁴⁶ has apparently got a copy of the travelogue, and in 1340 in Prague has compiled his own version.

According to recent research, especially carried out by Prof. Paolo Chiesa, we are able to recognize six basic types of redactions of Latin manuscripts of the Odoric's travel-record: *recensio Guillelmi*; *recensio Marchesini*, *recensio Henrici* (+ *copia Calvi*); *recensio Guecelli*; *recensio Germanica*; *recensiones breviores*.⁴⁷

Most Latin manuscripts of the Odoric's account—and also

36 The numbers mentioned here are based on Testa (1983): 121–150, completed from Monaco – Testa (eds.) (1986): 18–19 and Chesa (1999–2000): 311–350.

37 From these manuscripts the greater part (except of three in the USA) is found in European libraries and archives, particularly in Italy, France, Great Britain, Germany, Austria and the Czech Republic. There are some indications that at least one manuscript came, together with the Jesuits, to China. — Testa (1983): 145.

38 Guglielmi (1987).

39 *Itinerarium fratris Odorici ordinis fratrum minorum de mirabilibus orientalium Tartarorum* (The Itinerary of friar Odoric of the Order of Minor Friars on the wonders of the Tartars of the Eastern parts) (Ms. 275 (S. Benet's. 1280) (Markaunt. 21) (Stanley. A. 4), Corpus Christi College, Cambridge), *Fr. Oderici de Foro-Iulii, ordinis Minorum, itinerarium in partibus infidelium a. 1331 compositum* (The Itinerary of friar Odoric of the Order of Minor Friars to the parts of the infidels, written in 1331) (Theol. 291 (151. Phillips. 1789) (429/650. Cat.) (S. J. Paris) (Io. Iulii Bell), Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin), *Itinerarium fratris Odorici de foro iulij de Portu Naonis ordinis fratrum Minorum in oriente, septentrione, et meridie* (The Itinerary of friar Odoric of Friuli and Pordenone, of the Order of Minor Friars, to the East, North and South) (II. IV. 277 (Magliabechi. XXII. 20) (Strozzi. 362), Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence), etc.

40 *Multe et diverse hystorie beati odorici fratris minoris de ritibus et condicionibus huius mundi et de martyrio IIII fratrum minorum* (Many and diverse stories of blessed Odoric of the Order of Minor Friars on the rites and the conditions of this world and on the martyrdom of four Minor Friars) (No. 343 (S. Convento 20), Biblioteca comunale, Assisi), *Diverse historiæ b. Odorici de Utino ordinis fratrum minorum de ritibus et condicionibus diversarum gentium huius mundi et de martirio quatuor fratrum minorum inter infideles* (diverse stories of blessed Odoric of Udine of the Order of Minor Friars the rites and the conditions of diverse peoples of this world and on the martyrdom of four Minor Friars among the infidels) (S. Ant. Conf. B. 226. I (17), Archivio di Stato, Padova), etc.

41 *Odoricus de Foro Julij de mirabilibus orientalium Tartarorum* (Odoric of Friuli on the marvels of the Tartars of the Eastern parts) (H. IX (Met. Kapituly H. 9), Archive of the Prague Castle, Metropolitan Canonry Library), *Liber fratris odorici de foro Julio de ordine minorum de mirabilibus tartarorum et orientalium Regionum...* (Book of friar Odoric of Friuli of the Order of Minor Friars on the marvels of the Tartars and the Eastern regions ...) (GB 0247 MS Hunter 458 (V. 6. 8), University of Glasgow Library (Special Collections), Glasgow), *Itinerarium fratris Odorici ordinis fratrum minorum de mirabilibus orientalium Tartarorum* (The Itinerary of friar Odoric of the Order of Minor Friars on the marvels of the Tartars of the Eastern parts) (Ms. 275 (S. Benet's. 1280) (Markaunt. 21) (Stanley. A. 4), Corpus Christi College, Cambridge), etc.

42 *De rebus mirabilibus in variis partibus mundi* (On the marvellous things in the various parts of the world) (Barberini. 2558 (XXXIII. 78), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), *Odelricus de mirabilibus mundi* (Odoric on the marvellous things of the world) (Amplon. Q. 393 (C. A. 4° 393), Stadtbücherei Erfurt), etc.

43 Jehan le Lonc (transl.): *Ytinaire Odric de foro Julii de lordre des freres meneurs qui fist ce livre en lan de grace mil cccxxx* (Ms. 125 (Bongars.), Burgerbibliothek, Bern), *Libro de le nove e stranie e meravioxe cose* (Urbinate. 1013, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), *Dele cosse mirabile trovate i(n) Asia, cioè in I(n)dia et i(n) le altre p(ar)te orie(n)tale, et viste p(er) frate Odoricho da Udene de Feriolo* (Ms. 488 (S. Francesco. E. I. 10), Biblioteca Comunale, Mantova), *Hie hebnt sich prueder Vleichß sag von friawl die er gesagt hatt von allerlai wunderleichen dingn dy er hat gesehn in den landen...* (Ms. 1083, Stiftsbibliothek, Klosterneuburg), etc.

44 For French versions cf. Trotter (ed.) (1990); Italian versions cf. Andreose (ed.) (2000), Reichert (2002); German versions cf. Strassmann (ed.) (1968).

45 We can find his name (in versions of *Marchisinus de Basiano*, *Marchisinus de Baxido*, *Marchesino de Baiadon* etc.) in the beginning of the chapter on the Great Khan: „*Notandum est quod ego frater Marchisinus de Basiano de ordine minorum ista audiui a fratre Odorico predicto ipso adhuc vivente.*“ (It is to be noted, that I, friar Marchesino da Bassano of the Order of Minor Friars, have heard these things from above mentioned friar Odoric himself, him hitherto living.) (Lat. 4326, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venezia, f. 73r).

46 The name of Glatz is often misspelled in the manuscripts as Glats, Glars etc.: *Henricus, dictus de Glatz / Glats* (AS 1643), *Henricus dictus de Glars* (Domenichelli 1881), *heyndricus dictus de Glaz* (Ms. Phill. 1789, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin), etc.

47 Chiesa (1999–2000); see also Chiesa (2004): 28–32.

some manuscripts in other language⁴⁸—are signed by friar Guglielmo da Solagna⁴⁹, who assures that he faithfully wrote down what Odoric related to him in the Franciscan convent of St. Anthony of Padua in May 1330.⁵⁰ *Recensio Guillelmi* is chronologically the first version of the Odoric's travelogue, which clearly demonstrates that Odoric has not written his account personally, but dictated it. This redaction contains a separate statement (*protestatio*) of the redactor, which is found only in one group of manuscripts (originated mostly from northeastern Italy). This *protestatio* is written in the first person singular⁵¹, the other in the third person singular⁵². The manuscript in Guglielmo's redaction was completed in early 1331—it ends with the record about the death of Odoric in January 1331.⁵³

48 In Italian: Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It.5881 (ms. It. Cl. IV, cod. CCVIII) (VI.208) (Morelli.14); in French: London, British Museum Library, Royal.Coll.19. D. 1; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, F.Fr. (Rothschild.3085) (Barbois.19) (Asburnham.432) (Murray); in German: Donaueschingen, Fürstl. Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek, Ms. 482 (L. 153); München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (ex Mikulov), Cgm. 7364; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, Ccl. 1083 (1038 ?).

49 In manuscripts, we can find his name as *Guillelmus*, *Guilgelmus*, *Guilhelmus* etc.

50 Cf. „*Predicta autem ego fr. Guilgelmus de Solagna in scriptis redegit sicut fr. Odoricus ore proprio exprimebat an. dom. MCCCXXX de mense maii Padue in loco S. Anthonii...*“ (Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento di San Francesco (ex Biblioteca Comunale), Ms. 343 (S. Convento 20)); „*Predicta autem fideliter frater Guilgelmus de Solagna in scriptis redegit, sicut predictus frater Odoricus ore proprio exprimebat, anno Domini MCCCXXX mense maii Padue in loco Sancti Antonii.*“ (Venezia, Museo Correr, Lat. 2408 (Cicogna.2389) (Liruti)); „*Et fratre Udorico [evident error written down by another scribe] da Salogna ho scripte le presente cose, secondo chel sudicto fratre Udorico me le dicea cum la propria bocha nel ano del seignor 1324 (!) del mese de mazo nel loco de scto Ant^o de Padua.*“ (Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It.5881 (ms. It. Cl. IV, cod. CCVIII) (VI.208) (Morelli.14)); „*Frere Guillaume Sollengin de l'ordre des meneurs mist loiaument en escript toutes les devant dites choses si comme le dit frere Odoric li devisa de sa propre bouche. En l'an de Nostre Seigneur mil CCC. et XXX. el mois de mai en la cité d'Espade [= de Pade] ellieu Saint Anthoine...*“ (London, British Library (former British Museum Library), Royal.Coll.19. D. 1); „*Auch hatt daz buech prueder Wilhalm von Golanga geschribn, alß jch im daz gesait han auz mein selß mund. Daz gesdiadi ze Padaw zu Sand Anthonienn ze den Minnérn Priuedern...*“ (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (ex Mikulov), Cgm. 7364).

51 Eg.: „*Predicta autem ego fr. Guilgelmus de Solagna in scriptis redegit...*“ (I, friar Guglielmo da Solagna, the above mentioned have recorded...) (*Relatio* 1929: 494)

52 Eg.: „*Predicta autem fideliter frater Guilhelmus de Solagna in scriptis redegit...*“ (The above mentioned has been reliably recorded by friar Guglielmo da Solagna ...) (Ms. 53, Kapitel der Kathedrale, Mohuč, see Yule – Cordier 1913, II: 46)

53 Eg.: „*Supradictus autem fr. Odoricus postea ex hoc seculo, transivit ad dominum in conventu Utini an. dom. MCCCXXXI die xiii ianuarii, qui postmodum multis et magnis corruscavit miraculis.*“ (Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento di San Francesco (ex Biblioteca Comunale), Ms. 343 (S. Convento 20)); „*Supradictus autem fr. Odoricus postea ex hoc seculo transivit ad Dominum in conventu Beun in Foro Iulii ubi est residentia D. Patriarche de Aquileia anno Domini M^o*

The original Guglielmo's manuscript based on the Odoric's dictate of 1330 has not been preserved. According to the best hitherto edition, published by a Franciscan Anastasius van den Wyngaert in 1929, Guglielmo da Solagna drawn up four redactions altogether.⁵⁴

The author of *recensio Marchesini* was a Franciscan Marchesini da Bassano, who just like Guglielmo da Solagna claims that he has recorded the text according to the Odoric's relation.⁵⁵ This text is characterized by a relatively long introduction, in which, among others, we learn (as opposed to other manuscripts), that the Odoric's travel lasted “fourteen and a half year.”⁵⁶ Another important indication is that Odoric began to write his travelogue on the direct instruction of his superior, friar Guidotto.⁵⁷

Marchesino's redaction differs from Guglielmo's (and hence Guecello's) redaction in that a relatively large episode of the meeting of the Franciscans with the Great Khan on his way to Khanbalik, known as *De reverentia Magni Canis* (On the reverence of the Great Khan), is narrated in the third person singular⁵⁸, while in the Guglielmo's redaction it is Odoric himself, who narrates the story⁵⁹. The original Guglielmo's version has not contained this episode, and the editor added it on the base of the Marchesino's version, revised the entire text, before this

CCC^o XXXI die XIII mensis ianuarii, qui postmodum multis et magnis coruscavit et non cessat coruscare miraculis.“ (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberini. 2558 (XXXIII, 78))

54 *Prolegomena* (1929): 396. Viz též Trotter (ed.) (1990): XI a XX.

55 „*Notandum est quod ego frater Marchisinus de Basiano de ordine minorum ista audivi a fratre Odorico predicto ipso adhuc vivente.*“ (It is to be noted, that I, friar Marchesino da Bassano of the Order of Minor Friars, have heard these things from above mentioned friar Odoric himself, him hitherto living.) (Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. 4326 (ms. XIV.43) (Farsetti.70))

56 „*Quatuordecim annis cum dimidio in habitu almi confessoris Christi Francisci in huiusmodi partibus sum moratus.*“ (I spent fourteen and a half year in those parts in the habit of Francis, the alms confessor of Christ) (*ibid.*)

57 „*Ad petitionem reverendi fratris Guidoti tunc temporis provincialis ministri provincie Sancti Antonii hoc breve opusculum in Padua compilavi.*“ (I have compiled this brief work at Padua at the request of the reverend friar Guidotto, at that time the provincial minister of the province of St. Anthony.) (*ibid.*)

58 See eg.: „*Ego Frater Marchisinus de Baxido Fratrum Ordinis Minorum, protestor, quod a Fratre Odorico prædicto, dum adhuc viveret, audivi plurima quæ non scripsit. Dum enim quadam vice semel Chan magnus Imperator Tartarorum iret de Cambalech Sandu, ipse Frater Odericus erat cum Fratribus Minoribus sub umbra unius arboris iuxta viam ubi ipse Chan erat transiturus.*“ (I, friar Marchesino da Bassano of the Order of Minor Friars, testify, that from above mentioned Odoric, him hitherto living, I have heard many stories, which he has not written. So when once the Great Khan, Emperor of the Tartars, travelled by road from Khanbalik to Shangdu, this friar Odoric was with [other] Minor Friars in the shade of a tree next to the road, in which the Khan just walked.) (Cf. Domenichelli 1881: kap. LXXV: 199)

59 „*Unum referam de magno Cane quod vidi...*“ (I only refer about the Great Khan what I have seen...)

final version was sent to the papal court to Avignon, where the Marchesino's redaction was sent, as well.⁶⁰

Marchesino's version was copied in Avignon by a Silesian⁶¹ Franciscan Henry of Glatz (*Heinrich "Pfefferkorn" aus Glatz, Henricus dictus de Glars, heynricus dictus de Glaz*, etc.), who likely all the text even stylistically reworked.⁶² About sixteen copies of this edition (*recensio Henrici*) are known, mostly from the 15th century, the oldest of them are two manuscripts: XVII.E.2 of the National Museum Library (Knihovna Národního muzea) in Prague and D.IV.8 (E.III.20) of the University Library in Basel (Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel), both from the 14th century. This version is dated quite precisely "AD 1340, around the feast of All Saints" (ie. around November 1, 1340).⁶³ Henry's Prague redaction was spread mainly in eastern Germany and Bohemia.⁶⁴

It was the *recensio Guillelmi*, which has stemmed from the *recensio Guecelli*, another important redaction. Most manuscripts of this redaction are now kept in Great Britain. One of these manuscripts became the basis for the Hakluyt's well-known printed version.⁶⁵ Later manuscripts of the 17th–18th century were probably based on this version.⁶⁶ The restructuring of final parts of the Odoric's text, including the added text by the notary Guecello di Damiano da Portogruaro⁶⁷, who

was in charge of collecting documents on Odoric's miracles *post mortem*, is characteristic for this group of manuscripts.⁶⁸

There is another Prague redaction, which was drawn up in 1346, "around the feast of St. Stanislas, bishop and martyr" (7th or 8th May? 1346), by the priest Hermannus Calvus.⁶⁹ And besides, one more Prague version probably existed—the original copy of 1331, which Henry of Glatz has later (1340) edited.⁷⁰

In the same time a so-called German redaction (*recensio Germanica*) has appeared in the territory of Central-Southern Germany, as well. It is significant that the names of Italian cities, which Odoric has used to compare the size of East Asian cities, are being replaced here with the names of German cities.⁷¹

In addition to these redactions, there is a group of manuscripts that are significantly reduced compared to others—shorter redactions (*recensiones breviores*). Mostly the final passages following an episode of "terrible valley", especially those on the Great Khan, the Odoric's passing, and others, are missing.⁷²

The sequence of Latin redactions and selected editions⁷³:

Buardigio Castaldionis, et consilij Vtini, scripsi, sicut potui, bona fide, et fratribus Minoribus exemplum dedi; sed non de omnibus, quia sunt innumerabilia, et mihi difficilia ad scribendum. ("... which I, Guecelus, notary of Udine commune, the son of Sir Damiano of Portogruaro, on the command and from the will of reverend Sir Corrado di Bernareggio, gastaldo of Udine, and of Council, have written down most precisely, and handed out a copy to the Minor Friars; but I have not described everything, because there are many and difficult to describe things.") (London, British Museum Library, Royal Coll., 14.C.XIII).

68 The list of miracles is only mentioned in the manuscripts of the Guecello's redaction. The list of these miracles is attached only to two Latin manuscripts of the Guillelmo's redaction (Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento di San Francesco (ex Biblioteca Comunale), Ms. 343 (S. Convento 20); Padova, Archivio di Stato, Corporazioni Soppresse – Monasteri padovani, Sant'Antonio, S.Ant.Conf.B.226.I (17)).

69 „*Et ego Hermannus sacerdos dictus Calvus hec omnia a iam dicto fratre Henrico viro fidedigno rescripsi in Praga similiter, anno Domini MCCCXLVI circa festus sancti Stanislai Episcopi et martyris.*“ (And I, Hermannus priest called Calvus, has re-written all, what was already compiled by friar Henry, a trustworthy man, also in Prague, Anno Domini 1346, around the feast of St. Stanislas, bishop and martyr.) (IV.F.96.d., Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, Wrocław) — This St. Stanislas, bishop and martyr (*św. Stanisław ze Szczepanowa*), was the patron of Poland; the feast commemorating his murder in 1079 is on 11th April. But there are other days of his commemoration in Poland: 8th May and 27th September.

70 All three Prague version are mentioned in the catalogue by Giulio Cesare Testa: *Pragensis pristinus* („earliest Prague manuscript“) (1331), *Pragensis prior* („early Prague manuscript“) (1340) a *Pragensis posterior* („late Prague manuscript“) (1346). — Testa (1983): 136, # 145; 137, # 149; 138, # 152.

71 Reichert (1987); Chiesa (1999–2000): 332.

72 Chiesa (1999–2000): 322–323.

73 According to *Prolegomena* (1929): 396; Trotter (1990): XI a XX; Testa (1983): 135 and others.

60 See Chiesa (2004): 30.

61 He is often rendered as a "Bohemian Franciscan" – cf. Reichert (2002): 471; Chiesa (2004): 30.

62 The clear indication of that the Marchesino's version was used is *protestatio Marchesini* left in the text.

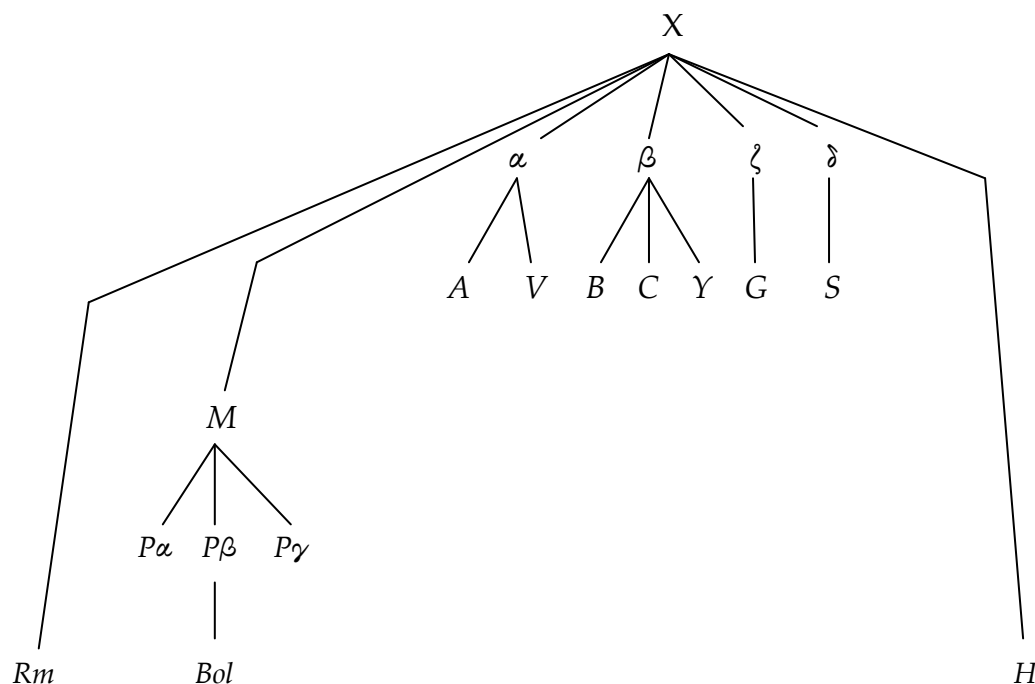
63 „*Et ego frater Henricus dictus de Glars, qui predicta omnia transcripsi existens Avinioni in curia domini pape anno Domini supradicto, nisi ibidem intellexissem de felice fratre Oderico a sociis suis qui secum fuerant tot perfectiones et sanctitatis opera, vix aliquibus hic per eum descriptis credere potuissem... Scripti autem hec anno Domini 1340 in Praga, circa festum omnium sanctorum, et copiosius ea audieram in Avenione.*“ (And I, friar Henry of Glatz, who has transcribed all above mentioned, dwelling in Avignon at the court of the Pope in the said Anno Domini, scarcely would believe something of that he describes, unless I have learned about works of such perfection and saintliness done by felicitous friar Odoric from his companions, who travelled with him... I have written this Anno Domini 1340 in Prague, around the feast of All Saints, and I have heard much more about that in Avignon.) (Clm 903, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München)

64 Chiesa (2004): 30.

65 Hakluyt has published the Odoric's account in his *The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation...* – See *Itinerarium* (1599), *Journall* (1599). (Probably based on the text of ms. LONDON, British Museum, Royal Collection, 14. C. XIII.)

66 Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Böhmer 13; Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, VI.623; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 686 (Collection Dupuy.686). – See Chiesa (2004): 29.

67 He is known as *Uccello degli Uccellis* from the list of Friulian notaries (Chiesa 1999–2000: 330, n. 56). The text reads as: „...*quæ ego Guetelus notarius communis Vtini, filius domini Damiani de portu Gruario, de mandato et voluntate nobilis viri Domini Conradi de*



X – unpreserved Guglielmo's autograph (1330)

α – Guglielmo's redaction represented with mss. *A* (Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento di San Francesco (ex Biblioteca Comunale), Ms. 343 (S. Convento 20)) and *V* (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5256-b (Vaticano.5256.b))

β – Guglielmo's redaction represented with mss. *B* (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberini. 2558 (XXXIII, 78)), *C* (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 276 (B. IV. 13)) a *Y* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 2584 (Colbert.1228) (Regius.3909) (Avignon.292), publ. Yule 1866 and Yule – Cordier 1913)

γ – Guglielmo's redaction represented with ms. *G* (Venezia, Museo Correr, Lat. 2408 (Cicogna.2389) (Liruti), publ. Venni 1761)

δ – Guglielmo's/Guccello's redaction represented with ms. *S* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 407)

M – Marchesino's redaction

P α – first Prague redaction (unpreserved autograph) by Henry of Glatz (*Pragensis pristinus*, 1331)

P β – second Prague redaction by Henry of Glatz (*Pragensis prior*, 1340)

P γ – third Prague redaction, text by Hermannus Calvus (*Pragensis posterior*, 1346)

Rm – Ramusio's edition (*Ramusio minor* 1574)

Bol – edition by the Bollandists (*Acta Sanctorum* 1643)

H – Hackluyt's edition (*Itinerarium* 1599)

LATIN MANUSCRIPTS OF THE ODORIC'S TRAVELOGUE IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

In the Czech Republic—as far as I was able to find—there are Latin manuscripts of the Odoric's travelogue in four complete texts, one incomplete text, and in one codex there are marginalia accompanying the Mandeville's text. In Prague, four Latin manuscripts of Odoric's travel account are kept, three of which come from the redaction by Henry of Glatz (*recensio Henrici*). The fourth manuscript belongs to a group of the German redactions (*recensio Germanica*). One Latin manuscript is found in the Cistercian monastery in Vyšší Brod, unfortunately the final chapters (those regarding China) are missing, so it can not be confidently classified. Introductory text suggests that it might belong to the redaction of Guglielmo da Solagna (*recensio Guillelmi*). Fragments (*marginalia*) of Odoric's travelogue showing signs of the German redaction

are included in the codex Mk 29 in the Moravian Regional Library (until 1993 the State Scientific Library).⁷⁴

PRAGUE, Archive of the Prague Castle, Metropolitan Canonry Library:

1) Sign. H.IX (Metr. Kapituly H.9) Desc[ri]ptio terrarum fr[at]ris odorici deforo Julii. Incipit: „Licet multa et varia de ritibus hominum et condicionibus huius mundi...” (14th–15th century), ff. 173v–185r. — *recensio Henrici*.

2) Sign. Rp.G.XXVIII (Tržebenycz G.53) (Metr. Kapituly G.28) [Odoricus de Pordenone Itinerarium de mirabilibus orientalium Tartarorum]⁷⁵ Incipit: „Licet multa et varia de

⁷⁴ Reichert (1992); Chiesa (1999–2000).

⁷⁵ The greater part of manuscripts has no title in our sense. Therefore I present the titles, by which the work is known in the catalogs, in square brackets.

ritibus hominum et condicionibus huius mundi a pluribus enarrentur..." (1st half of the 15th century), ff. 63r–76r. — *recensio Henrici*.

3) Sign. Rp.N.X (G.3) (Metr. Kapituly N.10) [Odericus de Pordenone De mirabilibus orientalium Tartarorum] Incipit: „Multa et varia scribuntur a multis maxime qui terras ignotas perambularunt maria navigarunt..." (1st half of the 15th century), ff. 140r–157v. — *recensio Germanica*.

PRAGUE, National Museum Library (donated by the Kolowrats from the Březnice Castle):

4) Sign. XVII.E.2. (Březnice) (Kolowrat.178) [Odericus de foro Julij liber de terra sancta] Incipit: „Licet multa et varia de ritibus hominum et condicionibus huius mundi a pluribus enarrentur..." (14th century), ff. 1r–12v. — *recensio Henrici*.

VYŠŠÍ BROD, Cistercian monastery Library:

5) Sign. Rp.V.B.18 (Hohenfurt.87) (Vyšší Brod.18.29) Incipit: „Licet multa et varia de ritibus et conditionibus huius mundi a multis enarrentur..." (15th century), ff. 144r–164v. — *recensio Guillelmi* (?). (incomplete)

None of the above mentioned manuscripts has been published yet. The authors of a single Czech translation have chosen already into English translated ms. Lat.2584, kept in Paris (it is the only one to mention Odoric's "nationality" to be Czech: *Odericus Boemus*), which is a version of Guglielmo da Solagna. They have added the translation of the Latin text from other, unspecified manuscripts.⁷⁶

PRINTED EDITIONS

The first printed editions began to emerge from the early 16th century, published were either the entire manuscripts, or parts. The oldest is Virunius's Italian edition⁷⁷, followed by the French edition⁷⁸, and two Ramusio's versions⁷⁹. Later that century the first English translation was published, along with the Latin original.⁸⁰ Since the first printed edition of 1513, there were dozens of editions and translations of the Odoric's account published, most recently (March 2008) the first edition in Dutch.⁸¹

76 Gel – Kocourek (transl.) (1962; 1998).

77 Virunius (1513).

78 Sainct Denys (1529).

79 *Ramusio maior* (1574) a *Ramusio minor* (1574). Giovan Battista Ramusio (1485–1557) was an Italian humanist, publisher of many important works. He also served as Chancellor of the Venetian Republic and the President of the Senate. His greatest achievement is the release of the monumental work *Nauigationi et Viaggi*, which also includes the travel accounts of Marco Polo and Odoric. The work was published already on the break of the 17th century in several editions.

80 *Itinerarium* (1599) a *Journall* (1599).

81 Odoric van Friuli (2008).

„In questo breuissimo curriculum [= corso] de miserabel tempo del. M.CCC.XVIII. humile: & deuotamente prego el mio signore dio: al cui nome tremano le intellegētie del celo: che allumine tanto el mio intellecto: chio possa in tutto: o in parte narrare le mirabile cose: che aparueno allocchi mei.“ (In this short course of a miserable time of 1318 humbly and devoutly please my Lord God, in whose name intelligences of heaven are trembling, who illuminates everything in my mind, so I can narrate both entirely and partly the wonderful things which appeared to my eyes.)⁸²

Thus begins the first printed edition (*editio princeps*) of the Odoric's travelogue of 1513. This edition which was published under the title of *Odorichus de rebus incognitis* in Pesaro, Italy, arose from a temporary co-operation between a humanist Ponticus Virunius (c. 1467–1520)⁸³ and Geršom Soncino (d. c. 1533)⁸⁴, a representative of an important Jewish-Lombard printing family. About their cooperation we can learn from the preface to this edition.⁸⁵

In the colophon at the end the book Ponticus Virunius states that the original for this edition was a manuscript (unpreserved) of certain Francesco Olivieri di Jesi (Franciscus Oliverii).⁸⁶ Why did he choose the Odoric's travelogue? Quite a curious reason is obvious already from the first lines of the preface, which state “Odoric of Belluno, our fellow citizen (sic!)”⁸⁷ He maybe—more or less consciously—identifies *Cividale de Belone* (= Belluno) with Cividale (today Cividale del Friuli), ancient Forum Julii, which gave Latin name to the region of Friuli.⁸⁸

The work is—despite the Latin title—written in Italian, the Tuscan dialect, only the foreword and colophon are in Latin.

82 Virunius (1513): f. 3v; Monaco – Testa (eds.) (1986): 48.

83 Virunius (in Latin *Virunio*) is a pen-name meaning “of Belluno”. According to some authors, however, he did not come from Belluno, but from Milan, as apparently evidenced in a notarial deed from 1508: „doctissimus ac praestans vir dominus Ponticus de Carcanis filius quondam Domini Georgii de Carcanis de Mediolano“. — Monaco – Testa (eds.) (1986): 31–32, n. 1. Adjective *Virunius* can also be interpreted as *vir unus* (a unique, extraordinary man). — Monaco – Testa (eds.) (1986): 22.

84 For details about him see eg. BUSI (2007). His activities have been associated with Soncino in Lombardy, hence his “surname”.

85 See under his Latin name Hieronymus Soncinus. — Virunius (1513): f. 2r; Monaco – Testa (eds.) (1986): 39.

86 „Collatione facta cū exēplari Frāncisci Oliuerii Esiatici ciuis ornatissimi...“ (Compiled using the exemplar of Francesco Olivieri, noble citizen of Jesi...) — Virunius (1513): f. 23v; Monaco – Testa (eds.) (1986): 127. The question is whether this text had ever existed, and if there was, what was supplemented by Virunius and what remained from the original Odoric's text. — Monaco – Testa (eds.) (1986): 27–28.

87 „... Odorici Virunii concius n[ost]ri.“ — Virunius (1513): f. 1v; Monaco – Testa (eds.) (1986): 38.

88 „Odorico, facto del ordine de gli frati minori de Friol et dela casa del ponte maore [= Porto Naone, i.e. Pordenone] de Ciuidale de belone [= Belluno]“. — See Virunius (1513): f. 23v; Monaco – Testa (eds.) (1986): 127.

It has the features of a group of manuscripts of Tuscan provenance, known as *Memoriale*⁸⁹, with an emphasis on the description of China (Chapters 9 to 18).

In addition to translations into major European languages, the Odoric's travelogue was translated several times into Chinese. The first Chinese edition is from 1889, the author of the translation and commentary was Joseph Kuo-Tung Chen (1846–1923).⁹⁰ This issue, but without comments, was later reprinted in the Hong Kong Catholic magazine *Kung Kao Po* (Catholic newspaper). In 1981 (and recently in 2002), the He Gaoji's translation based on the classical Yule's edition was published.⁹¹

MEDIEVAL TRANSLATORS OF THE ODORIC'S ACCOUNT

Only in the case of French and German manuscripts we know names of translators from the Latin. The translations from Latin to French have two translators, Jean le Long and Jean de Vignay, the German translation was made by Konrad Steckel. Jean de Vignay (*Jehen de Vygnai*, *Johan de Vignai*, *Jehan du Vignay*, c. 1283–after 1340?) was one of the most important and most prolific medieval translators.⁹² He was born in Bayeux in Normandy, where he attended school in Molay Bacon, near Bayeux. Later he studied law in Paris, where he apparently spent the rest of his life. He introduces himself, in most of his translations, as a “Hospitaller of the Order of Saint James of Altopascio” (*hospitalier de l'Ordre [de saint Jaque] de Haut Pas*).⁹³ In 1330s, he probably stayed at the court of French King Philip VI of Valois (reigned 1328–1350) and his wife Joan of Burgundy, also known as Joan the Lamé (*Jeanne de Bourgogne*, *appelée Jeanne la Boiteuse*, queen from 1328 to 1349). Some of his translations he has dedicated to this royal couple.⁹⁴

Altogether 11 translations by Jean de Vignay are known, works which belonged to the contemporary bestsellers. One of them was a translation the Odoric's travelogue (*Merveilles de la terre d'outremer*).⁹⁵ The text has been preserved only in

two codices.⁹⁶ The Jean de Vignay's translations arose immediately after Odoric's death (between 1331 and 1333)⁹⁷, thus belonging probably to the first translations of the Odoric's account from Latin.

Jean le Long (d'Ypres) (*Ie[h]an le lonc*; *Jean le lonc*, *dit et ne dyppre*; in Latin *Johannes Longus* [*Yperius* / *Iperius*]; d. 1383) came from Ypres (now in the Flemish part of Belgium), close to Saint-Omer. Already in 1334 he was a monk. Around 1340 he entered the Benedictine Abbey of St. Bertin (*l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin*) in Saint-Omer. He studied law in Paris, then he returned to his abbey. In March 24, 1366 he became the abbot (confirmed on 16 April and benedicted in Avignon on 19 April). Sometime between 1362 and 1370, he met Pope Urban V (papacy 1362–1370) in Avignon. Then he returned to Saint-Omer and attended to the administration of the abbey.

Eight codices⁹⁸ with his translations from Latin into French are known, mostly dating back to 1351.⁹⁹ All of them contain Odoric's travelogue (*Le yteneraire Odric de Foro Julij de lordre des freres meneurs*), part of them also Jean's other translations of travelogues to Asia and other documents.¹⁰⁰ This version apparently served as the basis for the travel book of so-called John Mandeville.¹⁰¹

In 1359 (on St. John and Paul's Feast, i.e. on June 26), Vienna provost Conrad Steckel (*Chónradt der Steckel* [*Téchel*, *Steckler*, *Stocker*] *von Tegernsee*, *Conrado Töchel*) has completed his

96 London, British Library, Royal, 19. D. I, ff. 136ra–148va; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rothschild, 3085, f. 207r–236r.

97 According to the synopsis prepared in Archives de littérature du Moyen Age ARLIMA (http://www.arlima.net/il/jean_de_vignay.html#cho); also see Trotter (ed.) (1990): XIII.

98 Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 125, ff. 180a–196b, XIV; Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, 667, f. 84v; London, British Library, Cotton, Otto D II; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français, 1118, ff. 39–55; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français, 1380, ff. 95–119; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français, 2810, ff. 97–115; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français, 10913; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français, 12202, ff. 108b–134b.

99 „Et fu cilz liures translatez par frere iehan le lonc ne dyppre et moisme de saint bertin en saint aumer. En lan de grace mil. iiijc. lj. accomplis.” (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, F.Fr.2810 (BNF Richelieu Manuscrits Français 2810))

100 *Livre des hystoires des parties d'Orient, compilé par religieux homme frere Hayton, frere de l'ordre de premonstré...; Le Ytineraire de la peregrinacion frere Riculd [= Riccodo da Monte di Croce]; L'estat de la Terre sainte et aussi en partie de la terre de Egipte; De l'estat et de la gouvernance du grant Caan de Cathay, souverain empereur des Tartres...; La coppie des lettres que li emperes souverains des Tartres, le grant Caan de Cathay, envoya au pape Benoit le XIIe de ce nom.* — According to the synopsis prepared in Archives de littérature du Moyen Age ARLIMA (http://www.arlima.net/il/jean_le_long_dyppres.html).

101 After all, some codices with Jean Le Long's translation of Odoric's account also contain a French version of Mandeville, e.g. *Le Liure de Messire Guillaume (sic!) de Mandeville* in F.Fr.2810 (BNF Richelieu Manuscrits Français 2810), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

89 One of them was edited in Monaco (ed.) (1990).

90 Kuo Tung-Chen (transl.) (1889).

91 He Gaoji (transl.) (1981; 2002).

92 For details about him see Knowles (1954).

93 The Order of Saint James of Altopascio (Italian: *Ordine di San Giacomo d'Altopascio*, French: *l'Ordre de St. Jacques-du-Haut-Pas*), also called the Knights of the Tau (*Cavalieri del Tau*) or Hospitallers of Saint James (*Ordine dei Frati Ospitalieri di San Jacopo*), was a military order, perhaps the earliest Christian institution to combine the protection and assistance of pilgrims, the staffing of hospitals, and a military wing. The coat of arms of the Order was a white cross of tau on a golden field—hence the name Knights of the Tau. The church and hospital of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas in Paris, subject to the Great Hospital, was founded by Philip IV of France (reigned 1285–1314). — See, in more detail, in Bertelli (2000).

94 Trotter (ed.) (1990): XIII.

95 For the critical edition see *ibid*.

German translation of the Odoric's travelogue.¹⁰² This translator, perhaps belonging to the Stöckels family of Tegernsee in Upper Bavaria, about 50 km south of Munich, is known only from the translation of Odoric's account.¹⁰³ Only five codices with Steckel's translation have survived.¹⁰⁴

CONCLUSION

Odoric is understood primarily as a man of religion, even though he tells nothing about his missionary work. We only know that he "crossed the sea and visited the countries of the unbelievers in order to win some harvest of souls"¹⁰⁵. Some manuscripts add the information that he has left for the East "with the leave of my superiors, who have power to grant it by the rules of our Order"¹⁰⁶.

Odoric mentions only in brief the work of Franciscans in Great Tartary (i.e. northern East Asia) and some conversions.¹⁰⁷ He also notes, with satisfaction, the presence of Christians in diverse cities in China: namely Hangzhou¹⁰⁸ and Khanbalik¹⁰⁹, observing also location of Franciscan convents: in Quanzhou (Zayton)¹¹⁰, in Yangzhou (Iamzai)¹¹¹ and in Khanbalik¹¹².

102 „So hatt dasselb puechlein ain layphaff, genant Chónradt der Stekkel von Tegernsee, in slechtew, vngereimtw vnd vngeziertew dewsch pracht cze Wienn in der statt. Do man zalt von Cristi gepúrd drewczehen hundert jar vnd in dem newnvndfünfczigistn jar, an der heylygn weterherren tag Johanneß vnd Pauli, ward ez volpracht. Dez mach in gott vnd ewch all reich an der seil in dem ewigen himelreich.“ (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (ex Mikulov), Cgm. 7364, f. 558v)

103 For the critical edition see Strasmann (ed.) (1968).

104 Karlsruhe, Landesbibl., Cod. Donaueschingen 482; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibl., Cod. 1065; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibl., Cod. 1083; München, Staatsbibl., Cgm 7364; München, Stadtbibl., Cod. L 1603.

105 "...volens transire ad partes infidelium, ut aliquod lucrum facerem animarum" (Domenichelli 1881, Prologus: 153)

106 "...et hoc de licentia prelatorum meorum, qui hoc concedere possunt secundum regule nostre instituta" (Domenichelli 1881, Prologus: 153)

107 "Propter hoc multi de gentibus illis ad baptismi gratiam convertuntur" [In this way many of those people convert to the gratitude of baptism.] (Domenichelli 1881, chap. LXXII: 197)

108 "De reliquis populis, alii sunt christiani, alii mercatores, et alii transeuntes per terram." [From remaining people, some are Christians, some are merchants, and other passing through the country.] (Domenichelli 1881, chap. XLVIII: 181)

109 "(Qui vero) quotidie custodiunt Regis personam, sunt Tartari quatercentum, Christiani octo, et unus Saracenus." [Who certainly daily take charge of the royal person are four hundred Tartars, eight Christians and one Saracene.] (Domenichelli 1881, chap. LIX: 188)

110 "...veni ad nobilem civitatem Zaycon nomine, in qua nostri Fratres Minores habent duo loca..." [...I have reached a noble city named Zaycon (= Zayton), in which our Minor Friars have two sites...] (Domenichelli 1881, chap. XLIII: 179)

111 "...veni ad unam civitatem nomine Iancy, ubi locus est Fratrum Minorum" [...I have reached one city named Iancy (= Iamzai), where is a site of Minor Friars] (Domenichelli 1881, chap. LI: 184)

112 "Nam nos Fratres Minores in hac curia habemus locum pro

A large portion of text is dedicated to the story of martyrdom of four Franciscan friars in Thāna (near modern Mumbai in India) and translation of their bones to Quanzhou (Zayton). (Domenichelli 1881, chap. XIV–XXV: 159–167; Yule–Cordier 1913, *Descriptio*, chap. 6–15: 284–294, and many others)¹¹³

The numerous copies of Odoric's narrative (both of the original text and of the versions in French, Italian, etc.) that have come down to our time, chiefly from the 14th century, show how speedily and widely it acquired popularity. His contemporaries considered him to be a saint man, due to many miracles, which occurred immediately after his death, and soon started to be officially recorded.

Popular acclamation made him an object of devotion, the municipality erected a noble shrine for his body, and his fame as saint and traveller had spread far and wide before the middle of the century, but it was not till four centuries later (1755) that the papal authority formally sanctioned his beatification.¹¹⁴

But we must see Odoric primarily as one of the first European at the imperial court in then Mongolian China and as a keen observer and narrator. Maybe this was the main reason why so-called John Mandeville has chosen most of his narrative for his "travel" book.¹¹⁵

nobis specialiter deputatum..." [For we Minor Friars have a place especially assigned for us in that court...] (Domenichelli 1881, chap. LVIII: 187)

113 Not all manuscripts include this story, therefore it seems to be later addition. (Melis 1983: 226, n. 7)

114 The letters of Cardinal Carlo della Torre di Rezzonico, bishop of Padua and later Pope Clemens XIII (papacy 1758–1769), and of deputies of Friulian people, sent to Pope Benedict XIV (papacy 1740–1758) during 1750, have asked him to canonize Odoric. Finally, on 2 July 1755, the Sacred Congregation for Rites (*Sacra Rituum Congregatio*) has published *Decretum canonizationis* of Blessed Odoric Matthiussi (sic!). (*Decretum* 1755)

115 For detailed comparison Mandeville's and Odoric's text see Koss (1999): 169–171, 191 and following.

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AUTHOR

Liščák, Vladimír (9 February 1954, Praha), Czech sinologist. Research worker of the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic and head of its Department of East Asia. He focuses mainly on the study of contacts between Medieval Europe and Mongolian Asia during the 13th and 14th centuries. He is the author of many papers and articles in Czech and English languages, as well as of some books, e.g. *China - the Adventure of Silk Road* (2000, in Czech), *History of China, Taiwan and Tibet. A chronological outline* (2008, in Czech).

Contact: PhDr. Vladimír Liščák, CSc. Department of East Asia, Oriental Institute, Academy of Sciences, Pod Vodárenskou věží 4, 182 08 Praha 8, e-mail: vliscak@orient.cas.cz